

"Votes for Women," February 19, 1915.

HARROW FOR WOMEN

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 368.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)



"What women approve or disapprove in the working out of military matters is of small moment."—Extract from "The Times," Feb. 15.

MOTHER OF FAMILY: "Well, I dunno! It kinder seems to me as the workin' out of military matters works out nothink but sixteen shillings to the pound."

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone, Regent 5150
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

THE CAMPAIGN

Indoor Meetings

Thursday, February 18; 6 p.m.—Members' Meeting.—U.S. Offices, 3, Adam Street, W.C. All members and friends invited.

Tuesday, February 23; 6 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Mrs. Elaine Whelen.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25; 8 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING IN KINGSWAY HALL.—See particulars in middle of this page.

Thursday, March 4; 8 p.m.—Athenaeum Hall, Glasgow. Mr. Henry W. Nevinson and others.

Friday, March 5; 8 p.m.—Masonic Hall, Edinburgh. Mr. Henry W. Nevinson and others.

Wednesday, April 14; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting—Queen's College, Birmingham. Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Outdoor Meetings

Monday, February 22; 3 p.m.—Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Mrs. Gow and others.

Friday, February 26; 8 p.m.—Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Miss Somers, Miss Kitty Ennis.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.

Sec., Miss M. R. Cochrane

The extreme popularity and rapid growth of the Club has made it necessary to appoint a Secretary to take entire control. We have been fortunate in securing the services of Miss Cochrane, who in future will supervise all the Club arrangements.

Wanted, Please!

A roomy writing desk with a lock and key. A tin trunk or chest for storing clothing pending jumble sale. Gifts of tea, coffee essence, cocoa, butter, cakes, jam, marmalade, biscuits—and flowers and plants to decorate the rooms.

We tender our hearty thanks to the Agent-General of Queensland for the magnificent gift of—one crate of cheese, three cases of golden syrup, one sack of wheatmeal, one side of bacon, accompanied by the following letter:

409 and 410, Strand, London, W.C.

Dear Sir,—Queensland, with a desire to help the Motherland and alleviate distress caused by the war, has sent to me for distribution in the United Kingdom a quantity of foodstuffs. From shipments already arrived I am able to send the goods mentioned in the annexed list, which I ask you to accept for the Club for Women, with the kindest greetings and good wishes from your kinsfolk in Queensland.—Yours faithfully, T. B. ROBINSON,

Agent-General for Queensland.

It is very gratifying to realise that our Woman's Club is world-wide known. We have many readers and friends in Canada, and this kindly gift will cement the friendship of British and Canadian Suffragists.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Meetings Arranged.—Mr. John Scurr will speak at Queen's College (large hall) at 8 p.m. on March 5. Chair: Miss Dorothy Evans.

Members who were in doubt as whether or no it would be wiser to drop Suffrage now will be reassured by the sympathy with which the work of the branch has met during its first week. The meeting at Queen's College on February 11 showed a very real appreciation of the importance of keeping the Suffrage flag flying, and the paper-sellers were much cheered with the congratulations of some of the buyers. Twenty-five VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold in the street on Saturday, and if the volunteers are forthcoming we believe this number may not only be maintained, but increased. Will all intending members fill in their membership cards as soon as they can and send them in to 19, New Street. Also, it is hoped all members will do their very best to attend the members' meetings, for the Committee are most anxious to receive all the help they can in the way of suggestions for future work.

MARGARET HALY, Hon. Sec.

BOLTON U.S.

Bon. Sec., Mrs. Crompton, 68, Hilden Street, Bolton.

Next meeting of members and friends in the Borough Hall, Monday, March 1, commencing at 8 o'clock. Subject for discussion to be drawn for.

PAPER-SELLING

The Misses Brown have kindly undertaken to organise the outside paper-selling campaign. They would like to get into personal touch with all paper-sellers, and they hope to see sellers at the U.S. offices, 3, Adam Street, Strand, where they will attend daily at the following times: Monday, 10.30—11.30; Tuesday, 5—6; Wednesday, 11.30—12.30; Thursday, 10.30—11.30; Friday, 4.30—5.30; Saturday, 10.30—11.30. We badly need more offers for selling outside afternoon and evening meetings, as well as for the pitches. Will any members who can spare an hour at any time remember that there is no more valuable work than paper-selling, and that they should at once communicate with or go and see our paper-selling organisers.

Tributes from Readers

A Sussex reader writes: "I think now one wants the paper more than ever, it is so excellent."

A lady writes from Madras, India, and says she hopes to return to England in middle March, "and buy VOTES FOR WOMEN at the 'pitches.' It is so interesting to read about the U.S. activities."

Another friend from Petersfield writes: "I do so admire the U.S., and shall be forever grateful to them for their brave and wise decision to continue Suffrage work and the publication of VOTES FOR WOMEN through the war."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to February 13

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged.	512 15 11	Mrs. McEvoy .. 0 3 0
Mrs. Mary Almond	1 0 0	Miss E. Marsh.. 0 5 0
Mrs. Baillie-Weaver	2 0 0	Miss M. Oldrini 0 13 0
Mrs. B. Everett	0 5 0	Miss Helen Smith 0 5 0
		£517 6 11

WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

Donations Received up to February 13

	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged ..	206 3 6
Club payments ..	0 12 6
Mrs. I. Carter ..	0 5 0
Miss D. Henwood ..	0 2 0
	£207 3 0

COME TO THE KINGSWAY HALL MEETING,

THURSDAY, February 25,

at 8 p.m.,

And Demand that Woman's Voice be Heard in any Peace Settlement, and that the Housewives of the Nation shall Help to Decide the Price of Food.

Speakers:—Mr. ISRAEL ZANGWILL, Mrs. AGNES HARBN (back from Red Cross work in Paris), Mrs. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, Mr. H. W. MASSINGHAM (engagements permitting), Mr. H. W. NEVINSON (recently in France), Mr. JOHN SCURR, Mrs. BEN WEBSTER (Miss MAY WHITTY). **Chair:**—Miss EVELYN SHARP.

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Reserved and Numbered, 2/6 and 1/-; Unreserved, 6d.; from Ticket Secretary, U.S. Offices, 3, Adam Street, London, W.C.

"AT HOME" TO PAPER-SELLERS

The "At Home" given by Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and Miss Evelyn Sharp at 41, Norfolk Square (by kind permission of Mrs. Ayrton) to paper-sellers and poster inspectors proved a great success. Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck expressed great appreciation of the devoted work of our paper-sellers. Miss Evelyn Sharp, in a most helpful speech, suggested new methods of increasing our circulation. House-to-house calls would be a splendid way of bringing VOTES FOR WOMEN to the notice of working women. The need for new pitches for paper-selling, additional poster displays. Various other suggestions were made by the members, and thoroughly discussed. The general feeling of all present was the imperative necessity to keep Suffrage for Women FIRST. Following the business of the afternoon, Miss Edith Penville, the well-known flautist, gave a delightful recital, including the works of a great French woman composer, which were exquisitely rendered.



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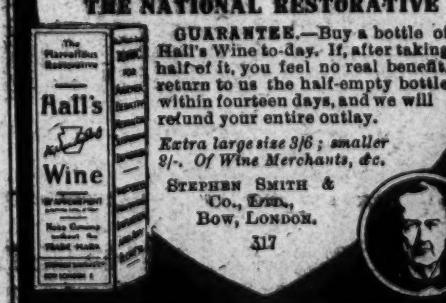
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Hall's Wine

THE NATIONAL RESTORATIVE



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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Mr. Asquith's plausible explanation of the rise in food prices, which amounted to little more than the insolent suggestion to half-starving women that they should be thankful things were no worse, will not be found acceptable by any Suffragists. We may differ on the economic question of what the Government's action should be; but we are all agreed in the conviction that no such matter as the cost of food can be intelligently or even honestly handled without women's co-operation. What does the Prime Minister know of the struggle poor working women make every day of their lives to see that both ends meet? What does he know about the hungry children of the nation? Suffragists remember only too well the cynical indifference he has always displayed in the past to their claims and their sufferings. If, as we are perfectly prepared to believe when it is proved to us, Mr. Asquith is converted to a genuine love of liberty and a real desire for the interests of the *whole* nation to be promoted, let him show it by enfranchising women.

Who Feels the Pinch?

Even Mr. Asquith's "facts" were so "academic" as to be in effect false. Coal, he told the House of Commons, had risen 15 per cent. from last year. But everything depends on where and by whom and in what quantities it is bought. Many poor women are getting for 2s. now only the bare hundredweight which they got last year for about 1s. 4d.—a rise not of 15 per cent., but of 50 per cent. Let Mr. Asquith call in the women who know about these things. His statement as to wheat prices was perfectly correct, but loses its point in the vagueness of a percentage. It is the woman scraping halfpennies together to get a loaf for her children who would say, more graphically, that the half-quartern has risen from 2½d. to 4d.

Employment of Women

The *Manchester Guardian* tells us that in Manchester "unemployment among men is almost non-existent," that in most trades there is "an exceptional demand for men," while women's labour "is on the whole at a discount." The reasons for this lie deep in the past exclusions and persecutions of women, in their enforced lack of training, and so forth. At the same time, it is satisfactory to note that girls are being admitted into certain engineering works at Sheffield, and that in Birmingham skilled male artisans are being replaced by women. In Northampton the men are not being replaced by women in the boot trade, for the Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union have adopted the antiquated and short-sighted policy of refusing to sanction the replacement. We have no space for all the local facts, but roughly speaking, the nation is undoubtedly losing heavily through its failure to utilise female labour, and women's unemployment is becoming

serious. One danger is that women will, if admitted at all, be admitted only at "undercutting rates." With this problem we deal in our leading article. In agriculture, where the employers have, by their attempt to get child labour, given colour to the suspicion that their real desire is to keep down wages, the movement for the employment of women gains ground daily. The pretence that boys of twelve can do heavy work which is "beyond women's strength" is too impudent to be taken seriously.

Democratic Control

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, who is so well known for the prominent part he has taken in the Suffrage movement, writes to defend the Union of Democratic Control against some remarks we made in these columns last week. He says:—

"May I, as a member of its General Council, state the facts? Last Tuesday, at the second meeting of the Council, I moved, and Mr. Zangwill seconded, the following resolution: 'The Union of Democratic Control, convinced that democracy must be based on the equal citizenship of men and women, invites the co-operation of women.' This resolution was supported by the Executive Committee, and was carried with the utmost goodwill against only one dissentient vote. It is now a part of the Union's constitution, and its speakers will no longer hesitate to say in its name that it means by democracy a commonwealth in which men and women have equal political rights."

We congratulate the proposers of the resolution upon this statement of principle, and the members of the General Council upon their readiness to accept it. In our movement, everything helps, and it is much to have a Union of Democratic Control actually admitting that democracy implies the equal citizenship of men and women. If all politicians who grow eloquent about "democracy" realised that elementary truth our cause would soon be won.

Suffrage First!

But the informant on whose authority we founded our remarks, told us that only one member of the Union's Council proposed that Woman Suffrage "should be put on their programme." Such a proposal, as Mr. Brailsford admits, is a very different thing from the resolution actually passed. He writes:—

"You are not satisfied that adherence to the Suffragist principle should be embodied in the constitution of the Union; you ask that it should be an item in its programme. This means, presumably, that a Union founded to work for certain terms of peace in this war and for the adoption of certain principles and methods in our foreign policy ought to turn aside to work for women's suffrage. Permit me to say that I think this an exacting and unreasonable demand."

Mr. Brailsford gives his reasons for thinking so. He says that the division of energies between work for peace and work for suffrage is a question of individual choice and opportunity, and that there is room for a society which will devote all its corporate energies to constructive work for peace. In answer we need only say that we should certainly never be satisfied with the merely academic statement of a principle, and that before any terms of peace or changes in the methods of foreign policy can be satisfactory, women's share in such questions must be recognised by our national constitution as well as by the Union of Democratic Control. We are very far from thinking this demand unreasonable, and we call upon all Suffragists to exact it.

Now is the Time

The *Nation* of this week contains a remarkable and encouraging leading article on "The War and Woman Suffrage." After speaking of the double strain which war imposes on women, it mentions those material interests of women which in wartime are especially affected. It shows that the fabric of women's labour suffers a sudden, and in some cases a revolutionary shock, while their responsibilities are enlarged by the disorganisation of family life. "Yet,"

it adds, "the State makes its arrangements on these matters with slight reference to women's desires and little knowledge of their necessities." It points out that no women are consulted about the Trades Union "relaxation of rules," or about child-labour, or about conscription, and that no woman sat on the Select Committee of the House of Commons which re-arranged the scale of allowances for soldiers' dependants. In two vital sentences it maintains the position which we have so persistently maintained ourselves:—

"The exclusion of women from political life is not a smaller but a greater injustice in times of war and of great political disturbance than in a period of peace."

"It is, therefore, an appropriate time to discuss the great reform on which all the more enlightened nations in the world will sooner or later reconstitute their political systems."

We entirely agree. That is what we contend. This is a peculiarly appropriate time, not only to discuss, but to accomplish this great reform of an injustice which is greater in time of war than in a period of peace.

Women and Science

We congratulate the Royal Astronomical Society on taking a new and important step in the course of justice. By a majority of 59 votes against 3, the Fellows of the Society have resolved to promote a Supplementary Charter by which women shall be admitted as Fellows on the same terms and qualifications as men. When will other scientific societies follow this excellent example? We cannot believe that such distinguished scientists as Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, for instance, can be much longer excluded from the Royal Society, simply and solely because the men who founded such a society many generations ago falsely assumed that women's minds were incapable of science.

A VICTORIAN SUFFRAGIST

We much regret to record that Mrs. Jane Sharp died last Friday at the age of 86. She was the widow of Mr. James Sharp, a distinguished Liberal and one of the staunchest supporters of Mr. Gladstone and the Home Rule policy, but especially known in his county of Buckingham for his advocacy of small holdings and his vigorous opposition to the landowners who attempted to frustrate the right demanded by their tenants and labourers. On this account he exposed himself to the unpopularity with which the pioneers of justice are invariably rewarded among dull or despotic people, while he won the devotion of the poor.

Mrs. Sharp (born Angell) was herself a woman of strong personality, and it is remarkable that, though brought up in the very heart and tradition of early Victorian society, she felt the keenest sympathy with the new Suffrage movement, and was a reader of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* from its first number onward. It was partly "militancy," and perhaps chiefly the violent and disgusting abuse poured upon the early "militants," which roused her interest in the movement. For, as she used to say, she well remembered the same abuse poured upon Florence Nightingale by the kind of people who then corresponded to our present-day "Antis." She was the mother of seven sons and four daughters, among whom we may mention Mr. Cecil Sharp, distinguished for his researches in folk-lore, dances, and music; the late Mr. Lewen Sharp, long a member and Alderman of the London County Council, and Chairman of the Fire Brigade Committee (it is to his invention we owe the beautiful and distinctive bell on the fire-engine); and our editor, Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 8s. 8d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. (2dols. 25cents) and 14s. 4d. (1dol. 15cents) abroad, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; Messrs. Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta; and at Handel House, Ltd., Elloff Street, Johannesburg.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

Membership Card

OBJECT:—To secure a Government measure to give women the Vote on equal terms with men.

The United Suffragists—

(1) Believe that men and women can usefully co-operate on equal terms in one organisation for the enfranchisement of women.

(2) Regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, and will work without considering the interests of any political party.

(3) Recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

There is no fixed subscription or entrance fee, but members are relied upon to support the Society to the best of their ability.

Membership is open to everyone who endorses the object of this Society, irrespective of membership of any other Society, militant or non-militant.

I wish to join the United Suffragists, whose object I approve.

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss)
Please write clearly.

Address
.....

Fill in the above Form and post it to Hon. Sec. United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, London, W.C.

The WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a
CAFÉ CHANTANT at CAXTON HALL,
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Preacher: Rev. A. CLIFFORD HALL, M.A.
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Subject:—"THE WOMAN'S BURDEN."
Special Hymns and Prayers.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

47, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET

Telegraphic Address:—Votesforwom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 5880 (2 lines).

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1915.

SHALL WOMEN BE MADE BLACKLEGS?

"One way, and an easy one, out of the difficulty would be the payment to the women of equal rates of wages with men."

It was to be expected of Mr. J. J. Mallon that he should make the most statesmanlike contribution to the discussion raging on the acutest industrial question of the moment. Those words of his which stand at the head of this article are of universal application; but the special conditions of the war, the huge enlistment of able-bodied men and their partial replacement by women in industry, call for special comment.

The unfortunate manner in which Mr. Tennant recently appealed to the Labour Party in the House of Commons to assist the Government by securing "some temporary relaxation of Trade Union rules" has caused great exasperation. Mr. Tennant had a proposal to make: the introduction in large quantities of women into industries hitherto wholly or largely occupied by men, so as to set the men free to enlist. The reason why Trade Unionists regard the suggestion with disfavour is simply (and excusably) that it may mean the provision of cheap labour. As Suffragists, we agree in repudiating anything of the kind. Men and women have no hostile, or opposite, or even different interests in the matter; the assumption that they have different interests has been for generations the main stumbling-block in the way of men's cordial co-operation with women in industry. That men when they return from the trenches to the benches should find their old standards lowered would be a national disaster; but the way to prevent it is not to keep women out, but to let them in on just terms.

The history of Trade Unionism as regards women is a sad one. At first men tried almost entirely to exclude women. Why? Because women were looked upon as natural "blacklegs." Again, why? Because women were expected as a matter of course to live more cheaply than men. Women have been forced into a vicious circle. They cannot insist on good wages because they are unorganised, and they are unorganised because their capacities for organisation are crippled by the brutal insufficiency of their wages. At present there are rather more than 350,000 women organised in Trade Unions (out of between 4½ and 5 millions employed in industry), as against something between 3½ and 4 millions of organised men. A woman's average wage is still not only worse than the worst paid unskilled male labourer would dream of accepting, but less than it is possible for a human being to sustain his or her single life on in anything like health or decency; and that in spite of the fact that, as far as has been ascertained by the very limited inquiry up to the present undertaken, about 50 per cent. of women wage earners support others beside themselves. No wonder the men are afraid of undercutting!

Bad, grossly and nauseatingly bad, as things are, still one great advance has to be registered: the general attitude of male Trade Unionists

has altered. Some are still obscurantist and reactionary, but these have less and less moral weight every year, as well as smaller numbers. We, as Suffragists, should be indeed ungrateful if we did not remember the support to our cause—the cause of true democracy—which many of the best Trade Unionists in the country have rendered and are rendering. And the answer to the reactionary position is, as it happens, furnished by Trade Unionism itself. Beyond all comparison the greatest industry in which women are admitted to Unions on the same terms as men is the cotton industry. What do we find? Not hostility, not divergence of interest, not, of course, under-cutting. Women and men do respectively the kind and amount of work of which they are physically capable, and the weekly wage of a woman weaver, though on the average lower than that of a man, is not lower to any appreciable extent. Rarely is the difference as much as a shilling, and often it is less than sixpence in the week, while sometimes, of course, a woman will work faster and earn more than a man.

But these, we shall be told, are piece-rates. We are not blind to the complications arising in industries (some of the armament factories are cases in point) where anything but a time-rate is difficult or impossible, and where the admission of women (suggested by Mr. Tennant, and actually already taking place) must, if the women really do less or lighter work, lead to a position requiring special arrangement. The question here implied of what ought to be the basis of wage-paying is too large to come within the scope of this article, but our conclusions are the same whatever answer is given. For let us assume the ordinary "common sense" view that women, if found less able to do the most arduous work, should be paid less. Certainly; but they must be paid less *in proportion*. As long as the proportion is just the women will not complain, and the men will assuredly have no grievance. When they return from the war they will not find the rate of wages lowered or their jobs "blacklegged" away from them. Moreover, the principle thus expressed will have had an important corollary. There will have been found to be industries for which women are more fitted, at which they are quicker and better, than men; and in these industries, as a matter of common fairness, the time-rates will be higher for women than for men. Once establish a real equality and economic difficulties disappear. When at the end of the war two millions or more men are turned loose on the labour market, there will indeed have to be an industrial rearrangement of unexampled magnitude and difficulty. If national industry has been kept going in their absence, their places will necessarily have been in a sense filled, but to penalise them by not either reinstating them or giving them some full equivalent would be simply heinous, whereas to evict summarily all those who have kept the nation going in their absence would be a wickedness no less black. But a moment's thought shows the difficulty to be purely one of arrangement. The actual work of these two million men could not conceivably be superfluous; it must be needed, therefore it ought to be organised and utilised.

Two conclusions appear irresistible. The first is the familiar suffrage one. No Government not resolved to bring the nation to disgrace and ruin can undertake so gigantic a readjustment without the aid of both halves of the nation, where both are so intimately—indeed desperately—concerned. The second is itself twofold. If women are *not* employed in the vacated industries meanwhile, financial chaos threatens the nation; if they *are* employed, but at under-cutting or "sweated" wages, the general standard of life will have been irretrievably lowered before the war is over. This dilemma leaves to a nation that desires to continue its existence the sole choice, in fact the necessity, of employing women at an equal rate with men.

AN APPEAL TO ALL SUFFRAGISTS

What does our meeting at the Kingsway Hall on the 25th stand for?

We ask our members and all those other Suffragists who believe in *keeping the flag flying* to do their part both by taking tickets themselves and bringing their friends, so as to make the meeting a concrete and unmistakable expression of the great principles of justice, liberty and equality. If that principle is not upheld at home, the lives our soldiers are laying down in its name will be *wasted*.

For remember that the forces of re-action are always alert, always vigorous: if we allow ourselves to think that upholding our Suffrage flag is "not worth while" because of the war, we shall find at the end of the war that our flag has been trampled in the dust.

A Common Mistake

Some Suffragists may be saying: "Yes, we know all about that: we know how women's liberties have been assailed since the outbreak of war by a Government which pays lip-service

to liberty: we know about the registration and police supervision of soldiers' wives, the restrictions of women's freedom; we are prepared to fight against those things—but it is no good going to a meeting."

We urge Suffragists to consider our reasons for thinking that attitude A FATAL MISTAKE. To make a protest meeting impressive at this juncture is one of the most vital services that anyone can render to the Cause. Our meeting is a demonstration of the vitality and persistence of our plea for justice. How could we strengthen that plea better than by showing the Government an *impressive* demonstration?

What We Mean by "Peace"

We have been told that it is a rash undertaking to plan a big meeting in time of war. We refuse to believe it. We refuse to believe our members can fail to see the importance of demanding that peace shall be really peace. We believe they cannot fail to see the folly of saying "peace, peace," when there is no peace.

For what do we mean when we use the title "Women and Peace"? We mean that, war having been made by governments responsible only to men, peace shall be made, when it is made, by a government responsible to men and women alike. We are not suggesting these or those terms of peace, or this or that end for the war. We are demanding VOTES FOR WOMEN so that when peace is made it may be the true peace founded on the real consent of an enfranchised democracy.

What to Do

If each one of our readers who thinks that women ought to have a voice in the decision of food-prices, of child-labour, of war and peace, will do her or his single bit to make the meeting a success, it will be a signal of hope and a triumph in itself. Can a true Suffragist hesitate? Discuss the meeting, distribute bills, sell tickets—and

COME YOURSELF TO THE MEETING.

PRISONERS YOUNG AND OLD

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

The following interesting extracts are taken from a letter written by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence from Philadelphia, and dated January 25:—

I have seen several interesting things. Of these, the two most important have been the Children's Court and Sing Sing Prison.

The Children's Court is just common sense and ordinary woman's thought for children's welfare applied to the peccadilloes of childhood, instead of the ponderous methods of the law. Though presided over by a man, it is really inspired by a woman. The children of the poor who come before it have been guilty of the same sort of offences which in the case of rich children would be the cause of a parental "wrigging," or deprivation of "treats," or other childish punishments. Nevertheless, in many countries they would be tried by magistrates on the same principle as offences by grown-up people, and punished perhaps by actual imprisonment or by sentences to Reformatories, which are often as deleterious to character, if not more so, than actual prisons.

To Help—Not to Judge

The Children's Court which I saw was in a suburb of New York, and was only used once a week; it was never used as an ordinary police-court. The whole procedure was entirely different. Though evidence was given on oath, everything was done to take away the formality of a trial; the magistrate had the children brought close up to him and addressed them by their Christian names. Generally one or other of the parents was there with them. The whole effort was to help rather than to judge; and with this object, motive and difficulties were taken into account as well as the mere fact of guiltiness of action. In a large number of cases full inquiries were directed to be made by men and women corresponding to our police-court missionaries; and on their report, a week later, judgment would be pronounced. I was told that most of these "judgments" would take the form of a caution, but in one or two cases the children might be sent to Reformatories. These Reformatories are as bad, or worse, than they are in England; but the same people who are working at the Children's Courts are agitating for a complete reform of the Reformatories, and from what I can see have a considerable prospect of success. I was told that some 12,000 children come up before the Children's

Courts in New York every year. If only a fraction of these are preserved by the more humane methods as decent members of society, instead of being driven down to criminal life as they are by the ordinary methods, a vast work is being accomplished.

Sing Sing Prison

I have seen many wonderful things in my life, but I think that I can say without exaggeration that what I saw at Sing Sing on the afternoon I went there was the most wonderful of all. It was the incarnation of a spiritual idea—an idea so revolutionary and idealistic that the ordinary man of the world would declare it an absurd and impossible dream.

Many of those who will read this letter are acquainted at first hand with the inside of an English prison, and even those who are not must know that the essence of the system is bar and bolt, and lock and key. No prisoner is ever allowed anywhere except in the immediate sight of a warden, and wherever large numbers of prisoners are together in one place there are large numbers of warders (often armed), who keep constant and vigilant watch to prevent the smallest departure from the prison rules.

Of such a character, only perhaps more cruel and vindictive, was Sing Sing Prison less than six months ago; the cells unspeakable (about one-third the size of the cells in an English prison and almost dark); punishments innumerable and of the most diabolical sorts; the prisoners, all male criminals, considered to be of a dangerous kind, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and never out of the sight and hearing of the warders.

Yet here was I sitting, on this afternoon of January 22, with my money and valuables on me, with two young women who had come with me by my side in the prison chapel, in which were gathered several hundred of the aforesaid "dangerous" criminals, without one single warden present, or so far as we knew within call, and the Governor of the prison (the Warden, as he is called here) away from the prison altogether.

Truly a miracle!

And a bench of five judges, themselves selected from the number of dangerous criminals, were seated on the platform, hearing, trying, and sentencing fellow criminals for breaches of prison discipline. And very wise judgments were given, full of care in weighing the evidence and appreciation of the motives and causes of the offences. Punishments were losses of privileges. How has it all come about?

Some eighteen months ago a little group of

people, largely inspired by a woman, Miss Doty (who had herself been fired by the life history of a man, "Happy Jack," whom she, as a lawyer, had defended, but who had been sentenced, as she believed, unjustly), determined to find out and probe prison conditions. They procured the appointment by New York State of a Prison Commission, and got themselves nominated with others as the Commissioners. A man, Thomas Mott Osborn, and two women, one of whom was Miss Doty, went to prison themselves. They learnt the monstrosity, as all Suffragettes have learnt, of the prison system, and the human, even noble, characteristics underlying many of the prisoners' unsocial habits in the outside world. They determined to build up out of the prisoners' social habits and feelings to one another an edifice of prison *esprit de corps*.

They believed this possible. That was their supreme virtue; and out of this belief the actual astonishing fact—to the world incredible—has arisen. Three months ago Osborn was himself appointed Governor of one of the principal prisons. He got the men belonging to the different workshops in the prison to elect delegates from out of their own members to discuss with him modifications of prison life. From these delegates he has selected officials. (Or perhaps—I am not quite sure of my facts—the group of delegates have themselves selected their officials.) These officials have no easy life, for their work of governing the prison is all in addition to their ordinary prison labour. Nor do they secure universal goodwill from their fellows, for they have to find out and punish breaches of discipline. And, finally, they feel the stupendous weight of responsibility; for the eyes of all New York State are on this experiment, and to a lesser extent the eyes of the whole world. If there should be some riot in the prison, some event which the world could seize on and point to as a failure (disregardful of the continuous failure of the ordinary prison system by every test which can be applied to it), then everything would be lost, and the prison would revert—as some enchanted palace when the spell is broken—to its primeval barbarism. May the Gods avert!

But now! The daily output of the workshops has been trebled. Grave breaches of discipline are unknown. The lightless punishment cells stand empty. Sing Sing is establishing an *esprit de corps* with which each newcomer is infected. The worldly wise man is discomfited. The idealist trembles with elation. If only it can last unblemished, at least long enough to prevent the breaking of the spell by a single failure! So pray all who love their fellow-men.

LITERATURE OF THE CAUSE

ANOTHER U.S. LEAFLET

In our issue of February 5 we published the contents of a new U.S. leaflet: "Why We Keep the Suffrage Flag Flying." A companion leaflet has now been issued from the U.S. offices at 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C. (price 1s. per hundred, or 7s. 6d. per thousand), which is worth sending to all who still ask why Suffragists think it worth while to continue to voice their demand at this crisis. It was as follows:

WOMEN'S PART IN THE PEACE TO COME

Important Utterances in Press and Pulpit

Few wars would ever have been waged if the serious-minded men and women of each country, especially the workers of both sexes and in all classes, had been consulted and the issue placed in their hands. . . . And when an enlightened public opinion is formed, how is its judgment to be given? A freely-elected democratic Parliament of both sexes is the obvious answer.—SIR W. FLETCHER BARRETT, F.R.S., in the *Westminster Gazette* (January 14, 1915).

Let those who have to do the fighting and bear the brunt of it (including the women) decide whether there shall be fighting or not.—MR. EDWARD CARPENTER, in the *Labour Leader*, January 21, 1915.

So we must set our teeth and go on and go on. But not for a revengeful, a greedy, and, therefore, a short-sighted peace. . . . To what recuperative force can we look? . . . Essentially we must look to great principles of human action, realised by the best, most provident forces in society. What are they? (1) A growth of the principle of national autonomy. (2) The establishment of a real concert of Europe. . . . (3) The admission, at least in Western Europe, of the whole adult population to the voting power. —MR. H. W. MASSINGHAM, in the *Daily News and Leader* (August 24, 1914).

In my opinion, if the women who suffered from the unspeakable horrors of this pitiless and insatiable war were given a voice in the referendum for or against the first declaration of hostilities, the havoc already wrought would never be repeated, and the tide of human blood would not be increased by a drop, because there would be no "next war" engaged in for the destruction of the Christian peoples of Europe.—FATHER POWER, S.J., in a sermon preached at Edinburgh in December, 1914.

I firmly believe that if woman's voice had been

heard among the diplomats of Europe, and she had been given a place in their Councils, this terrible and inhuman war had been averted. A home without a woman is a collection of confusion. The State is but the larger home, and there will be confusion worse confounded while woman is deprived of the position which God gave her when He placed her by the side of man and said it was not good that he should be alone.—MRS. BRAMWELL BOOTH, in her New Year's message to the *Daily News and Leader*.

Liberalism and Socialism have been engulfed in the two great tides of armed humanity which divide the Continent. How could they resist it? The power of the peoples—nominally growing—had nowhere attained control over foreign policy. Women, the one possible party of peace left under the representative system, were excluded from it.

We must have a different, a better, a fairer world; but, above all, it must represent a common order . . . able by the advice of the best men and the best women of our time to set up a permanent seat of international justice.—*The Nation* (August 22, 1914).

It is inconceivable that a nation which has passed through this ordeal can ever be content to shut the door upon women . . . to tell them that they belong to a separate order, and that no sacrifice or heroism can gentle their condition. All these lesser prejudices will be dissolved, and no man who calls himself by the name of Liberal will ever grudge to women, who have so heavy a share in the burdens of the nation, a share in its responsibilities and councils.—*The Nation* (October 26, 1914).

(With acknowledgments to the "Tannersville Times," in which this story appeared previously to the United States elections of last November.)

Mr. Jones was sitting on his porch puffing big clouds from his corn-cob pipe, and looking contentedly across his potato field.

The suffragist who was driving around in a buggy from house to house, getting voters to sign the suffrage pledge, stopped to greet him.

"How do you do, Mr. Jones?"

"Fine, thanks. Having a first-rate season, business good; all the family well."

"Where is Mrs. Jones?"

"She is tending the shop. Since the children have grown up she takes half the work in the shop off my shoulders. She's a pretty smart woman, my wife is."

"What is Eliza doing?"

"Eliza is head dining-room girl up at the Pine Wood Inn. Makes a lot of money with her wages and tips. She's a nice girl, too. Everyone likes her."

"And little Susie?"

"Little Susie has become quite a young lady. She's teaching school down at Bear's Hollow. Expects to be transferred to a bigger place next year."

"Does Aunt Maria still live with you?"

"Yes, indeed! She's busy with her chickens. She did so well with her chickens and eggs last summer that she helped me pay the assessment on the new country road they built through here."

"You ought to be proud of your women folks, Mr. Jones."

"I am! Indeed I am! They're fine women, every one of them. God bless 'em!"

Encouraged by so much appreciation of feminine ability, the suffragist drew forth one of her pledge blanks and approached the prosperous Mr. Jones:

"Won't you sign one of these? The men of our State will vote on a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution next November. I am sure you will be anxious to give the vote to your women?"

Mr. Jones stared for a moment, and then violently shook his head. "Votes for women? Well, I guess not! The women have no business to meddle with men's affairs. A woman's place is home!"

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEW INJUSTICE TO NURSES

(From a Correspondent)

The nurses employed by the British Red Cross Society and sent to the front last September have been working very hard on behalf of our wounded soldiers. Some have at times been up and on duty night and day within sound of the guns on the battlefield. They have, as expected, worked uncomplainingly at great inconvenience and discomfort. Apparently the only appreciation the British Red Cross Society can now offer them is to attempt to lower their salaries by half the amount it originally paid them.

They had agreed to work for this Society at a remuneration of two guineas per week each, and were accorded the privilege of stating their preference as to whether this amount should be paid in full each week, or whether only a proportion should be paid weekly and the balance handed over at the expiration of their term of service. On their return after almost four months' arduous work at the front, pressure was brought to bear in order to persuade them to agree to accept one guinea per week in lieu of the original arrangement. The rate of payment in the case of nurses now being accepted for service has been fixed at one guinea per week. In addition to this, some nurses have had great difficulty even to get expenses paid by the Society.

Then there is the question of the accommodation provided by the Society for its trained nurses who are home from the front awaiting further orders. The case which has come under my personal notice is that of a few of them who are in residence at a home for working girls in a squalid neighbourhood in South London. Surely it would have been possible for the British Red Cross Society to select one of the many hostels for nurses and others, in which they might have spent the time at their disposal in comfort, and enjoyed the opportunity of associating with women of similar education and interests. At the home in question there is no room (other than that in which the residents have their meals) in which the nurses can receive their personal friends. They are, of course, subject to all the rules obtaining in the home, and this occasions them much discomfort with regard to meals, sleeping arrangements, &c.

Why should these brave British women be called

upon to endure hardships of this kind while here at home? Is it because they are women and will probably suffer in silence? Surely they have borne their full share of the horrors of war by accomplishing their noble work at the front in the cause of humanity.

It would be interesting to learn whether the men who are working under the British Red Cross Society are being treated in a similar manner.

A Hospital Sister.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—In December, the Woman's Service Guild in Perth, West Australia, waited upon the Attorney-General, Mr. Walker, to ask that women might be appointed as Justices of the Peace in the Children's Court, as in New Zealand, Canada, and some parts of America.

The Attorney-General, in the course of his reply, said he was so convinced that they were right in their desire to see a lady in the Children's Court, that the Cabinet, he was sure, would consider the matter, and he would represent to the Cabinet the wisdom of amending the Justices' Act for that special purpose. He added: "Anything that helps to give to woman the right to exercise all the powers with which she is endowed for the good of humanity has my warm and earnest sympathy."—Yours faithfully,

A SUBSCRIBER.

Grace B. Loftie, Vil'a Paradis, Vevey, Switzerland.

VOTE FOR WOMEN GUARDIANS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—In a few weeks the elections of Guardians of the Poor will take place in most parts of England and Wales. In no department of government is the presence of humane women more necessary than in the relief of the poor.

I therefore earnestly hope that the Women's Associations will put up women candidates who are in favour of adequate out-relief for widows who are bringing up their children properly, and medical relief for married women and children where necessary, on the mother's own application; and for humane administration of the Poor Law.—Yours, &c.,

J. THEODORE DODD
(for fifteen years a Guardian of the Poor).

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Attempted Assault on Little Girl
The Hampshire Independent (February 6) reports the case of a man charged at the Hants Assizes with an attempted assault upon a little girl of between six and seven. He pleaded guilty.

Sentence: Nine months' hard labour.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Embezzlement

The Times (January 28) reports the case of a stockbroker charged at the Norfolk Assizes, before Mr. Justice Ranson, with converting to his own use four sums of £1,023, £755, £96, and £397 which had been entrusted to him by clients to purchase shares. He pleaded guilty.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Theft of Clothes

The same paper reports the case of a butler charged at the Central Criminal Court, before Judge Atherley Jones, with feloniously receiving an overcoat and other articles. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Fifteen months' hard labour.

Injuring a Woman

The Morning Advertiser (February 1) reports the case of a hammerman charged at the Clerkenwell Police Court, before Mr. d'Eyncourt, with causing bodily harm to a woman by throwing her down the stairs. She was suffering from sprains and twisted leg and bruised back. The prosecutrix stated that she had gone upstairs on hearing a scream, and had found prisoner striking his wife. Mr. d'Eyncourt called the assault an aggravated one, but refused to believe prisoner's story of the woman tearing his shirt and pulling him downstairs, and described him as a very violent, bad-tempered fellow.

Sentence: Six months' imprisonment.

Assaulting a Wife

The Morning Advertiser reports the case of a labourer charged at Lambeth Police Court, before Mr. Biron, with assaulting his wife by knocking her about in bed.

Sentence: Ordered to enter into his own recognisances in £5 to keep the peace for 12 months.

A Postal Theft

The Times (January 13) reports the case of a temporary postman charged at the Central Criminal Court, before the Recorder, with stealing a postal packet containing £1 10s. It was also stated that many other letters were found upon him. It was suggested that he was of weak intellect.

Sentence: Nine months' imprisonment.

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN

In the above cases one coincidence stares us in the face. An assault upon a little girl of six is punished by the same length of imprisonment as the theft of thirty shillings. Thirty pieces of silver is the value set upon a child's honour and innocence by men who are appointed to administer the law and establish among the people a certain standard of right and wrong.

Whilst we are dealing with cases of this kind, we may mention a report sent by Reuter's Paris correspondent last week. He says that a law is to be proposed in France enacting that any child resulting from violence offered to a woman during the war should be registered by the local mayors, if the mother desires it, as "born of an unknown father and mother," and consigned to an orphanage. He further reports that a well-known member of the Senate will propose not only that special homes for these unhappy foundlings should be erected, but that the penalties for abortion should be temporarily suspended.

We make no comment on these terrible proposals except to point out how completely they confute the argument of the easy-going Anti-Suffragists who maintain that women should have no voice in questions of peace and war because they can live quietly at home while men go out and do the fighting for them. People who talk like that know nothing of war beyond what they have gathered in the comfort of clubs and tea-rooms. That such proposals should even be imagined is sufficient proof how hideous are the sufferings brought upon women by wars about the justice or necessity of which even "democrats" never consult them.

"ANTI" HUMOUR

During the recent debate on woman-suffrage in the U.S. Congress, we learn from the American weekly, the New Republic (January 23), that whereas several Southern "antis" could hardly speak of womanhood without tears, it was reserved for a Northerner, one Mr. Bowdle, of Ohio, to make the culminating protest. His conception of humour may be estimated by his allusion to American suffragists as "sensational ladies who cross their limbs in political wigwams," and by his suggestion

A FINE PROTEST

We have now before us an account in the Hereford Times of the fine protest made by Mrs. Davis in Court at the recent Herefordshire Assizes. The case was the trial of a domestic servant for causing the death of her newborn child. She was found guilty, and sentenced by Mr. Justice Avery to six months' imprisonment, she having been already imprisoned since November. On hearing the sentence, Mrs. Davis, who with her husband, the Rev. G. H. Davis, Assistant Vicar Choral of Hereford Cathedral, has done so much for the protection of women against injustice, rose in Court and protested against the proceedings as unfair. "If the father of the child were here," she began, but interruptions made her inaudible, "no man would dare to pass sentence," she continued; but the Judge ordered her to be turned out of Court. While the police were carrying out the order Mrs. Davis repeated, "I protest as a woman and a mother." After she had been removed, the Judge gave instruction that "that woman" should not be admitted again; but her point had been gained. Mrs. Davis by her action revealed not only to the Court, but to the whole surrounding district, that, in all justice, the man who is at least equally guilty with the woman in these cases should not escape scot-free, while all punishment falls on the woman. This might seem an axiom of law, but it is not law at all, and both judges and laymen appear surprised at it.

NOT FIT TO SERVE

In the interests of their gallant regimental companions we are glad to see that two soldiers belonging to a Canadian regiment, committed for trial for theft at Clerkenwell Police Court last week, will not be allowed to rejoin if they are convicted. Captain Shaw is reported in the Times to have said:—

"Men who can be guilty of such a crime as this are not fit to serve in our contingent. They will not be allowed to come back to the regiment at any price."

We sincerely trust that Captain Shaw, and other officers of other regiments, will take the same line over soldiers convicted of offences against girls, both in the interests of their decent companions and of the women of the country they may be called upon shortly to invade."

THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP

The International Suffrage Shop is in urgent need of £150 to continue the work it has been doing for the past four years. Since the outbreak of the war its income has been greatly reduced, and in order to prevent closing down an appeal is made to all Suffragists to contribute towards its £1s. fund, feeling confident that many who are unable to give large sums will be glad of an opportunity of personally helping its propaganda work in this way. Donations should be sent to the Secretary, International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Villiers Street, Strand, W.C.

MARKING LINEN

Never was it more necessary than in the present day to see that all one's personal and household linen is well marked, as apart from loss, it is not nice to wear other people's linen, and you cannot be certain of having your own from the laundry unless properly marked. John Bond's "Crystal Palace" Marking Ink, which is of British manufacture and has stood the test of 100 years, was the first to be invented.

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COMING EVENTS

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold meetings in Hyde Park on alternate Sundays at 3 p.m., commencing on February 21.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a meeting at the Knightsbridge Hotel on Tuesday, February 23, at 3 p.m. Mr. Stephen Graham will speak on "The Religion of Russia." Chair: Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, February 24, at 3.30 p.m. Mr. Lawrence Housman will speak on "Home Truths in War Time." Chair: Mrs. Mustard.

The United Suffragists will hold a meeting at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, February 25, at 8 p.m. (See page 170 for particulars.)

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a sale at 33, Morpeth Mansions, Westminster, on Tuesday, March 23, from 2.30 to 7 p.m. Entrance free. Tea 6d.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To insure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday morning. Address, the Advertising Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Probendary Carlile.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION. A sale of plain and fancy work, comforts for soldiers, sweets, cakes, &c., will be held on Tuesday, March 23, 2.30 to 7, at 33, Morpeth Mansions, Westminster, by invitation of Miss Norbury. Entrance free. Tea 6d. Proceeds for funds of F.C.S.U. Donations of money and goods for sale earnestly requested. Please send at once to Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, Hon. Sec. F.C.S.U., 69, Wimpole Street, London.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION will hold meetings in Hyde Park on alternate Sundays at 3 p.m., commencing February 21. Look out for the Red Dragon—Hon. Secretary, 69, Wimpole Street, W.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Meeting at the Knightsbridge Hotel, Tuesday, February 23, at 3 o'clock. Mr. Stephen Graham will speak on the Religion of Russia. Mrs. Cecil Chapman in the chair.

THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP is in urgent need of £150. If 3,000 Suffragists contribute 1s. each we can continue the work we have been doing for the past 4 years. Donations should be sent to the Secretary, International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Villiers Street, Strand, W.C.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers, February 24, Mr. Laurence Housman, "Home Truths in War Time." Chair, Mrs. Mustard. Admission free.

WOMEN AND WAR.—Service of Intercession (arranged by the C.L.W.S.), Saturday, February 20, 3 p.m., at St. George's, Bloomsbury (Hart Street), by kind invitation of the Rector, the Rev. C. Baumgarten. Preacher, the Rev. C. G. Langdon, Vicar of St. Michael's, Poplar.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. Welcome to Mrs. Despard at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, Monday, February 22, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard will speak on her impressions and experiences during her recent visit to France. Chair, Miss Anna Munro. Admission free. Collection.

WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC WAR CLUBS. All interested in the progress of this work write to Hon. Sec., 22, Buckingham Gate. Mr. Oswald Stoll placed Shepherd's Bush Empire at Mrs. Hugo Ames's disposal this week; over 6,000 people present on Saturday night. Mrs. Parker, Lord Kitchener's sister, is deeply grateful, and hopes all interested will write to above.

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(Particulars within on Page 170.)

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